

Vol. II

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# TIGHTENING THE FETTERS

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### Protest Rowdies Act

The following emergency resolution was moved at the May 3, 1919 demonstration, London, May 3, 1919:

Resolved, that this meeting calls upon the citizens in the Crown to counteract the monstrous dissolution of the Rowdies Act, which imposes upon the Indian people methods of despotic government by making I.O.D.A. perpetual in peace time, condemns the looting and shooting of unarmed men and women, and demands the immediate release of the government of India, giving to the people of India the full right to govern themselves.

### The Brutal Way

The following is taken from India, London, May 3, 1919. It shows how the officials were responsible in the case of Delhi riots.

The crowd had proceeded in huge numbers from place to place, peacefully protesting people to join in the solemn celebration. At the station the stationmaster acted in a cautious and shrewd way, and sought the protection of the police and the military. The former started to thrust the people back with canes in spite of protests from responsible leaders, and eventually two people were arrested. This angered the crowd, who demanded their release. After some time, the chief police official declared that the men had been released.

"The crowd insisted upon the production of the arrested men. The police then began to drive them into a neighbouring park by the customary method of leading them, and they thereupon refused by throwing bricks, with the result that the military (apparently without warning) began to fire on them, killing and wounding a number of people. Several Shudharmas, hearing of what had taken place, hastily proceeded to the scene of action and addressed himself to the senior civilian

official in charge, who turned his back upon him most rudely. Undismayed, the Shudhas appealed to the huge crowd in *Shujana*. They were absolutely deaf to him, when they came upon a body of Gurkha troops, apparently the same as that which had fired upon the crowd near the station. They commenced to jeer at and abuse the crowd, who were once more getting infuriated. The Shudhas boldly advanced and urged the people to remain calm and the troops to desist from provocation. At this moment a shot was fired, and the Shudhas at once sought the officer in charge to urge him to refrain from shooting the unarmed crowd. He was immediately surrounded by a number of Gurkhas, pointing rifles at him and threatening to shoot him. The crowd went on the point of breaking through the troops to rescue him, when he once more succeeded in calming them and told the soldiers that they ought shoot him if they chose. At this stage an officer appeared, to whom the Shudhas gave explanations, and who then took charge of the situation and prevented another ugly scene. After the crowd, following the Shudhas, had held a meeting of protest against the violence done to them, they dispersed quietly to their homes. On the following day an immense gathering of nearly 100,000 people attended the funeral ceremonies of the people that had been shot. No untoward event happened."

About 60 arrests were made by a movable police at Delhi. Arrests of nation combine. At Amritsar the arrests up to date number about 350; 44 have been sent for trial.

The total arrests in Lahore number 215. The official contradiction to women is having nothing effect.

At Rawalpindi a Delhi boy of 13, who is reported to have been spreading sedition and calling himself a disciple of Swami Shudharmas and Gandhi, has been arrested.

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# YOUNG INDIA

JUNE, 1919



## EDITORIAL NOTES AND NEWS

### Lecture on India

On Saturday, May 17th, the Friends of Freedom for India held a very successful dinner at Yorkville Casino, New York. About 200 persons attended. Speeches were made by Dr. J. T. Sunderland, Rev. William Thomas, Mr. Gilbert Reid, Mr. H. K. Roy, and Mr. S. M. Kart, explaining the national and economic situation in India.

On the same evening the Speeches League of the Theosophical Society gave a concert at its headquarters, 71 West 112th Street. Mr. Lajpat Rai spoke on the international aspect of the Indian problem. The concert was well attended and proved a successful undertaking.

### India's Demands

At the last session of the Indian National Congress, held at Delhi during Christmas week of 1918, Mr. B. G. Tilak was elected to present India's demands to the Peace Conference. Previous to this, Mr. Tilak had made request for a passport to attend the conference in the capacity of a journalist. He was refused permission to go. Not being able to personally present India's case, he drew up a memorandum copies of which we have received in which he has outlined the claims of the Indian people, and the conditions under the benevolent rule

of the British, of the country and its resources. On March 11, 1919, he sent this to President Clemens, who is presiding over the Peace Conference. We do not know whether Mr. Tilak has received a reply to his memorandum.

### British Labor's Appeal

The following appeal by British labor leaders appeared in the *London Daily Herald* of April 24.

We, the undersigned, appeal to our fellow countrymen and women to give thought and sympathy to the condition of affairs in India. That country, which contains 215 millions of human beings, is at present ruled by a handful of officials, whose policy of incompetence and ignorance have brought them poverty, ill-health, people in the verge of starvation and destruction.

India has the most rights, the most wealth, the most civilization in Asia, Persia, and other most European possessions. The Government of India reply with a Curfew Act which prohibits all freedom of speech, freedom of Press, freedom of public meeting.

Indians are oppressed, yet they are hunted from provinces and shot down with machine guns.

We cannot believe our countrymen and women understood these things, neither do we think they realize that their quarrels with India place in jeopardy the lives of thousands of British men, women, and children.

We, therefore, ask you to join us in our protest against the looting and shooting of unarmed men and women, and to use demand for a public inquiry

lose these citizens, the complete withdrawal of the Canadian Bill and the renunciation of membership of self-government, giving in the millions of Indians, the most rights in our own subject by Canada, America, and Africa.

ROBERT WILLIAMS,  
ROBERT SMITH,  
GEORGE LANSHAW

### Engineers Protest

The recent conferences in Egypt and India have awakened a storm of protest throughout England. The following announcement of one of the many meetings which are being held appeared in the London Daily Herald for May 14th:

A small community has been formed for the purpose of holding a protest meeting in the Grosvenor Hotel on Friday, May 18th, at 8 o'clock. Invitations to speak have been sent to Robert Fowler, George Lansbury, Colonel Wedgwood, and other representatives.

### A May-Day Message

Writing on the significance of May Day in the May 1st issue of the London Daily Herald, George Lansbury made the following statement on the new internationalism:

I can think of nothing so noble or so inspiring as a May Day celebration of new internationalism. I think it very probable that this day would be a total failure here in London, but it will act as a demonstration, for instance, will be demonstrated on Friday. Great numbers of men in collections will remain at work. But wherever we are let us all give thought to the great movement now sweeping over the world. As men come during the day let our thoughts go out to our comrades in India, Ireland, Egypt, Africa—struggling for freedom, but driven to slavery by the power and wealth of France. Let us think of our brothers all over Europe struggling for liberty and the breaking down of Caesarism and all its horrors. And, thinking of them let us each realize that we will be loyal and true subjects in the Army of the French and Nationalist (Internationalist) cause more for justice than for selfish gain, more and against the power, the love and consideration. None of us can be hypocrites, none, but all things are possible by unity and love.

### Australian Women

The British and American Labor Parties have expressed their sympathy for, and support of India's movement for self-determination. Now come the women workers of Australia with their declarations of co-operation with us in the struggle for freedom. The following extracts are made from a letter which has been received by The Modern Review of Calcutta (April, 1920):

"We, the women of New South Wales branch of the Women's Peace Army send greetings to our sisters in India."

We particularly wish to express sympathy with our sisters who stand at the forefront of the struggle of Australian and British people.

We are particularly interested in Indian Home Rule.

We are also interested in political rights for women. Let us unite, let us sympathize with one another's sorrow, let us know each other's strength."

### The Swastika View

New India, Madras, for April 11, prints the following:

Mr. Gandhi Order of the moment is religious movement, pure in his eyes. But when Mr. Gandhi, had issued an appeal to his countrymen to take the Swastika now it was to keep Indians made good, and for a purpose that it should be taken up by large number of people if possible. His appeal is not merely for those who have taken the Swastika (because religiously pure and as such) he has warned the people against its being taken up by those interested and he has said that people may have the use of making a Swastika of all their bodies (Gandhi) made

### Self-Determination for Fiji

The Indian Imperial Association of Fiji has addressed a petition to Viscount Buxton, Secretary of State for the Colonies, a copy of which has been received by us. The petition denounces the proposed plan for Europeans living in Fiji for annexation of Fiji to Australia or to New Zealand. Because of the large Indian element on the island,

the association suggests that, if Fiji be annexed at all, a union with India, the nearest country, would be more natural and satisfactory to the Fijians. It, however, this request is not granted, annexation to New Zealand would be more preferable than to Australia "whose policy is now known to be more than that of New Zealand."

We fear that the Fijians, like many others, are taking the self-determination talk too seriously.

### What India Wants

The London States, on a recent issue, comments on the budget for the coming year as follows:

"The war has completed the Government in charge India with a considerable portion of the world. India is an extremely poor country, and the cost of the war has been heavy. India had to pay on the war in money very much more in the way of the British Empire. We doubt whether it is now in a position to do so actively in a new year (in the budget). The Government are expected to have money for educational and industrial development. India, which is still poor, perhaps any other that is very large, nevertheless, some other. But expenditure should be fixed so that it shall not fall on the present income. The people are so much in poverty that they cannot afford to pay large sums. There are whole districts within which the average rate of wages is only about a penny a day. A very poor income cannot save large sums, except the government. Some in mind that there are things which it is possible to provide India with and that it can pay for its own progress. These things may be done. There are things which would be provided—education, railways, and good money for income from the land, but of course, including capital."

But what for the benefit of the British trade more than India's good!

### Abolish Liquor Trade

The Viceroy of Madras is celebrating his 44th year by starting to abolish liquor in his State. It is an interesting Western India and the Government's intention to continue his fellow-chiefs to co-operate with him towards making the whole region dry.

It is rather rough on British India, with its recent record, for drinking to be called, in conservative quarters, a model State.

### Sale for Democracy

At the Methodist Centenary Conference held at Indianapolis on February 25th and 26th, Dr. J. M. Taylor of New York made some very interesting remarks.

"The only way to have democracy in America," he said, "is to sweep out the corrupting forces of the world—to make the world safe for democracy."

He stated further:

"The world cannot be made safe for democracy while there exist so many hundreds of millions who will go to bed hungry tonight, never knowing that a satisfactory meal is in their reach, and knowing that in all the remainder of their lives they may never hope for a full meal."

"The world cannot be made safe for democracy so long as three-fourths of the people of the world live where 90 per cent. of the population are illiterate. The world cannot be made safe for democracy so long as sanitation and medical science are at such a low level that 30,000,000 out of 3,000,000,000 die in India alone, as compared with 200,000,000 in America. This progress must be taken out of the human system. If we permit ourselves to be lulled to sleep and attempt to build a world democracy on top of such enormous evils as these we but prepare the way for an explosion that will rock our own as well as all western life."

### Curse Offers No Bar

There is testimony from the pen of Sir John D. Bore, a retired Anglo-Indian that even in India is not as unprepared to the political aspirations of the people.

The Indian nation are not here for thousands of years here, the various leaders and administrators of India, under all the circumstances, who have not in the state of the nation, and any one











men have constructed edifices to escape these banishments. Members of families keep a peep at men at their points, the male members being from a colony wherever they go—The fate of the women is even more deplorable. Lately decided in ages they have to remain all the family but women within the four walls of the seven hells, and they must be watched to take every dollar in a confined country or in some dark place of a male member comes in.

This they have to do to hide their personal activities."

The United States, England, France, Germany, Italy, and the smaller nations of Europe and Asia have all been engaged in the same war which has produced these conditions in India. Why do we not read of similar misery in those countries?

## MR. TILAK'S LETTER

The following is taken from a letter addressed to the president of the India Home Rule League of America by Mr. B. C. Tilak, the Mahatma leader of India, who is now in England.

"I am waiting here for the Congress delegates to come and talk, so as to definitely go back with them. I have not received yet in India America. It will depend upon the future course of events. Press information received from India the delegates is expected to leave India by the end of April. I get your monthly magazine and am glad to find themselves that you and Dr. Handberg under you are doing good work there. The work expects to be continued and we are glad to receive our goal at my side, and the reconstruction of the world is finally settled by the League of Nations after this condition of peace."

"We are doing all that we can to have the Montagu scheme modified on the Congress basis. But the work is an uphill work. We have very few sympathisers outside the Labor Party, and, as you know, the Labor Party is not in power. We have, therefore, to depend upon the work of the Peace Conference. If that Conference takes up the question of self-governments something may be done for us but it is very doubtful, although President Wilson in his letter to U. S. War Secretary, is inclined to the Congress basis. The subject of self-governments will occupy the attention of the Conference. As a Congress representative I have sent a memorandum to the President of the Peace Conference endorsing the Congress demands. I know that it has reached the

hands of the President. But we can not do anything more until the peace terms are settled and concluded, when the construction of peace, England must work the same Indian and Egyptian nations. They can not be shifted off, and it is in the area to what until the present Congress provides these conditions exist."

"The present opinion in India is about the Montagu bill. Mr. Gandhi has started the peace conference movement and we are extremely well along in progress, and you must doubtless be doing the same. A few Indian members have given notice of their intention to move a discussion of the Montagu Bill in Parliament. But as to what happens by the by, I may tell you that a few Montagu supporters with Colonel Wedderburn as chairman and Mrs. Spence (Lalor) as honorable secretary, has been formed to take up the question of Indian constitutional reform. I was present at the meeting and explained our position. After the another Parliamentary committee with Sir J. D. B. as chairman and Mr. T. J. B. as chairman of the House of Commons. It is honorable secretary was also formed with a view to strengthen the hands of Montagu, though apparently they are prepared to go beyond it. There are apprehensions both in the present government may be defeated in the question of peace terms and that may arise in arrangements between America and England. It should be a disaster if they come from and in the future. However there is nothing left for us but to wait and watch patiently and accept our work and efforts according to conditions."

## WHETHER ART OR SKILL?

By DR. ANAND KUMARASWAMY

Here is a test question which a friend of mine is accustomed to propose to his acquaintances: "Which would you prefer to hear—good music imperfectly performed, or bad music perfectly performed?" The answer of the true lover and critic of music will be, of course, that he prefers the good music imperfectly performed to the inferior music excellently rendered. After he answers the same will be true of other arts.

That the critic should remain comparatively indifferent to obvious "defects" in works of art is always a matter of astonishment to the public. One constantly hears, as one stands before the Indian galleries, such remarks as this: "That was before they knew anything about anatomy." Why does not the artist or the professional critic take notice of the most fundamental?

In the same way, in India, we frequently meet with musicians whose voices are poor and voices ill-trained, and yet are able to hold the rapt attention of the Indian audience. The European concert-goer, on the other hand, of the same talent, in such cases, out of the same talent, such a thing—he does not so much listen to the music as to the rendering of it. He pays more heed, as it were, to the triller of the voice than to its first melody; more eager to still than to imagination. But here again the critic persists many facts that the pleasure-seeking public regards as unexcusable, just as he condemns or praises the absence or presence of other qualities for which the public never stops. The critic, too, will often be profoundly interested even in the low and degraded phases of a traditional art, such as Gothic or Indian, though no one may be better aware that the work before him be-

longs to a period of decay. And on the other hand, he will be altogether unmoved by the virtuosity of a Sargent or a Rubinstein, he takes no interest in seeing the artist juggling with techniques—balancing the paint brush on the end of his nose, or in an unusually attractive high C. By all means let the public have its music, but do not let us call it art, he would say.

The explanation of these divergences belongs to the "world of imagination and strategy." On either side, before a work of art the public is spontaneously torn, the critic gradually active.

It is really much more important to you what you do with a work of art, than what it does to you. And the measure theme completely and perfectly expressed means nothing to be done—the product is merely so much furniture, which may be very comfortable and luxurious, as well as expensive. We do not object to comfort, but let us call things by their right names. Comfort is not art—and, indeed, a great work of art is so likely to shatter the foundations of respectability as less than a great religious work. "I come to know, not peace, but a sword."

In traditional art, in the "Primitive" art of all periods (modern art not excluded) there is a kind of unrestrained and robustness of activity which is repellent to those who seek to be comforted by graceful forms and careful accessories. But in art like this there is something more than skill. The rapid power of all religious art—we mean religious in fact and not merely in form—may be analysed thus: in devotional art, it is, that is, where the artist is devoted to his theme be it God or woman, flower or light,

there is always the sense of wonder, which is secular not even though it bear the semblance of a churches or a Bed-lin, there is nothing but reported and selected observation.

The public is disturbed by "A fact" in media of art because of its beauty. To appreciate a work of art—to be moved by it—requires at least some measure of creative imagination akin to that of the artist himself. It is because the critic is aware that he judges the great work imperfectly rendered in the mediocre work, however expertly dressed it may be. "To our country," writes Tagore, "those of the audience who are appreciative are content to perfect the song in their own mind to the tune of their own feeling." So also Subramanya says with reference to literary sculpture "that the defects of images are inevitably destroyed by the power of the virtues of the workmen who but his heart always set on God." To make this more general would be to say "that the defects in works of art are constantly destroyed by the power of the virtues of the entire work but his heart always set on the true work of art" (and not merely upon the personal appeal to the sense of pretension or admiration).

No artist can be great who lacks a sense of wonder, no public can appreciate his work that has not, even though it be in a less degree, a like mood.

No artist can be great who lacks a sense of wonder, no public can appreciate his work that has not, even though it be in a less degree, a like mood.

## DR. HARDIKER'S MIDDLE WEST TRIP

At the request of the Council of India Home Rule League of America, and at the invitation of a number of organizations, Dr. Hardiker, Secretary of the League, left New York on February 18th to lecture in the Middle West. On his trip, which lasted 36 days, he covered ten States and seven Indian cities. The following are the places which he visited.

### States and Cities

- 1 Illinois: Carleville, Chicago, Chicago, East St. Louis, Peoria, and Springfield
- 2 Indiana: Anderson, Indianapolis, and Richmond
- 3 Kansas: Kansas City and Lawrence
- 4 Kentucky: Covington and Louisville
- 5 Michigan: Ann Arbor
- 6 Minnesota: Minneapolis and St. Paul
- 7 Missouri: Kansas City and St. Louis
- 8 New York: Buffalo, Niagara Falls, and Rochester

\* It is difficult to have more than one Indian name in a sentence, but some more of the same variety is used in this article, and must be the reader's excuse.

- 9 Ohio: Cincinnati, Cleveland and Columbus
- 10 Wisconsin: Milwaukee

From all these cities he received requests for a second visit, but he could accept only ten of these invitations. At these places he was again asked to speak but, for lack of time, was compelled to decline these invitations.

### Organizations and Societies

The object of his trip was to disseminate knowledge about the true political and economic condition of India. With a desire to reach as large audience as was possible, he accepted invitations from a great variety of organizations in this country. But, as we have seen, he made it clearly understood that he did not belong to and had nothing to do with any American political party or organization and that he was speaking on behalf of India only. This stand brought him the co-operation of many organizations, twenty-five of which asked him to speak from their platforms. The character of his audience was varied, as is evidenced from the following list.

### A. Educational

- 1 Blackburn College
- 2 Buchanan College
- 3 Free Library
- 4 Helms Institute
- 5 Irish Students' League
- 6 Kansas School
- 7 Open Educational Forum
- 8 Policy Club
- 9 University Clubs
- 10 Workers' Institute

### B. Political

- 1 Fabian Club
- 2 Friends of Irish Freedom
- 3 Labor Party
- 4 Labor Unionist
- 5 Moscow Delegates Convention
- 6 Political Equality Club
- 7 Rotary Club
- 8 Socialist Party
- 9 Women's Welfare League

### C. Religious

- 1 Church of Christ
- 2 People's Churches
- 3 Practical Christianity
- 4 Spiritual Churches
- 5 Theosophical Societies
- 6 Unitarian Churches

### Lectures and Audiences

All told, he gave 33 lectures in the 36 days that he was away from New York. Besides this, he had more than 15 audiences with the leading officers of various organizations. The subjects of his lectures were related to the political and economic condition of India. The size of his audiences varied from a minimum of 15 to a maximum of 1,000, the average being 300. Besides these direct appeals to his audience, Dr. Hardiker was given extensive publicity by the press of the cities and states in which he lectured. Agreements and lengthy reports of his speeches were published by all of the dailies and by many foreign and weekly papers. The *Westerns* published by the League was freely distributed and also sold. The returns from the sale of the pamphlet "Self-determination for India" and of

Young India magazine amounted to about \$100.

### Branches and New Members

Ten new branches were established and local officers elected. The number of subscribers to Young India and of members for the League amounted to 250. The total amount of dues collected was \$450.

### Resolutions

The travelling and other expenses of his trip came to about \$300. All this was borne by his speeches. He openly appealed to them in each place to help him proceed to other cities with India's message. His appeals were generously answered and a collection was taken after each lecture.

### Resolutions

Almost all of the organizations which asked him to speak have passed their latest co-operation and the further use of their platforms. Many of the organizations passed resolutions to that effect. Other resolutions pertaining to self-determination for India were passed and sent to Washington, D. C., and to the Peace Conference at Paris. The resolutions passed by the Illinois Labor party, by the Fabian Club, Chicago, and by the Minneapolis branch of the India Home Rule League, were particularly emphatic in stating India's demand for equal rights and self-determination.

### Our Thanks

Taken as a whole, Dr. Hardiker has not only won the commendation of the various organizations which invited him and cheerfully gave him the use of their platforms, but deserves also the gratitude of his countrymen and fellow-workers in the United States. To show their esteem, the members of the Council of the India Home Rule League passed a resolution thanking him for his work. The branch chapters of the League are also extended to the many individuals and organizations which co-operated with him in making this trip successful.





# DIVINE LIFE

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